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ABSTRACT

To determine the extent of Black participation during the network's convention broadcasts a study investigated how many Blacks were selected as news sources in live interviews conducted by ABC, CBS, and NBC during the 1984 Democratic Convention, the status of each Black source as compared to that of Whites who were interviewed, and how many on-camera network newspersons were Black. Broadcasts by ABC, CBS, and NBC of the 1984 Democratic Convention were recorded on video tape as they were aired. All broadcasts were reviewed and the live interviews were examined to determine the race of the network newsperson who conducted the interview and the news source of the interview. Results showed that (1) the percentage of Black participation in live interviews conducted by ABC, CBS, and NBC during the 1984 Democratic Convention was greater than in the 1972 broadcasts, but was extremely uneven during the convention week; and (2) although Blacks were interviewed more than their relative strength as delegates at the convention, those who were selected as interview sources were likely to be rank-and-file delegates. (Five tables of data and 20 notes are included.) (MS)

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Minorities and Communications Division:
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BLACK PARTICIPATION IN LIVE NETWORK TELEVISION INTERVIEWS AT THE 1984 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

by

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ABSTRACT

BLACK PARTICIPATION IN LIVE NETWORK TELEVISION:

INTERVIEWS AT THE 1984 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

A content analysis of all ABC, CBS, and NBC live interviews aired during the 1984 Democratic Convention revealed: (1) blacks participated more than at the 1972 convention, but chiefly to react to candidate Jesse Jackson's Tuesday night convention speech; (2) networks patterns of selecting live interview news sources were significantly different on the night Jackson spoke from the other three convention nights ($p<.001$); on Tuesday, 52.2% of all live interviews were conducted with blacks; on the other three nights, the percentage of interviews with blacks as sources was 16.7%; (3) only two black reporters participated in the networks' 172 live interviews, two on ABC and 11 on CBS; (4) half of NBC's interviews with rank-and-file delegates were with blacks, the best proportion of interviews blacks received in any one source "status" category when compared to white representation; (5) although blacks were interviewed more often than their numerical delegate strength (26% interview sources to 18% delegates), the black news source most likely to be seen in an ABC, CBS, or NBC live television interview was not a presidential candidate, labor leader, congressperson or campaign director, but, rather, a rank-and-file delegate or mayor of a major American city.

BLACK PARTICIPATION IN LIVE NETWORK TELEVISION

INTERVIEWS AT THE 1984 DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

For a number of years researchers have been reporting mass media have been making considerable changes in the ways that blacks are presented.[1] Most of this content-analytic research that has examined television has focused on roles portrayed by blacks in entertainment programming,[2] advertising,[3] and on the networks' evening newscasts,[4] but little research has focused on the role of blacks as newspersons or news sources during the network broadcasts of major political conventions.

Roberts reported the frequency of appearance of blacks and the kinds of appearances, by occupation, they made on network evening newscasts.[5] He found that blacks appeared in 23 percent of news segments, usually in a seen, but not heard role. He also found that blacks appeared in significantly more segments on NBC than on ABC during the sample viewing period of 1972 newscasts, but that on many newscasts no black was heard from at all.[6] Roberts stated it is rare to see black news correspondents on the network evening news and that "the viewpoint of blacks is seldom expressed."[7]

Northcott, Seggar, and Hinton[8] found in a comparison of entertainment programming aired during the 1971 and 1973 television seasons that the occupational status of black male characters changed significantly ($p<.001$) and that the change was one away from professional and managerial positions toward service-job portrayals. The authors also found the occupational

status of black female characters eroded as well.

Northcott concluded the drift away from more positive roles for blacks between the two years might indicate an erosion of the strength of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and a response to "the increasing momentum of the women's liberation movement."[9]

Johnson's exploratory study[10] found that although black viewers saw black newscasters as more attractive than white newscasters 86 percent of the time, only 45 percent viewed black reporters as better performers than whites. She concluded the difference existed because blacks were seen less often as reporters or anchors on local and network newscasts and were often relegated to weekend anchor duty when they did appear.

Little research has been conducted in the area of network television coverage of political conventions[11] and none that specifically examined the part blacks played as both news sources and reporters.

Paletz and Elson[12] found that NBC devoted about equal amounts of time during its 1972 Democratic Convention broadcasts during prime-time viewing hours to podium activities and network-generated materials. "NBC coverage did frequently focus, in scanning shots, on blacks, 'hippies,' and young people, but it just as often showed middle-aged white delegates." The authors identified all women, blacks, those under 30, and "obvious kooks" interviewed by the network as "odd convention participants".[13]

Foote and Rimmer[14] examined 1980 convention broadcasts and concluded that although official proceedings still comprise about one-half of the broadcasts, "the networks' own interpretation of convention events dominates coverage."

To determine the extent of black participation during the

networks' convention broadcasts an examination made as to how many blacks were selected as news sources in live interviews conducted by ABC, CBS, and NBC during the 1984 Democratic Convention, what status each black source had when compared to whites who were interviewed, and how many on-camera network newspersons were black. The ratios of black to white interview participants on each network might indicate something about the networks themselves.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is limited to examination of live interviews conducted during the 1984 Democratic Convention by ABC, CBS, and NBC television networks in order to identify blacks, by name, title, and by status, who were sources in those interviews; to identify network patterns of selection of news source by race, if any; and to identify black news employees of the networks who participated in the live interviews. Additionally, an hypothesis was tested. The hypothesis stated:

> The selection pattern for Tuesday night's broadcasts will be different, by race, from the combined nights Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday. The hypothesis was drawn in this fashion to test whether networks acted differently in selection of news interview sources according to race on Tuesday night -- the night Jesse Jackson addressed the convention as a keynote speaker.

METHODOLOGY

Broadcasts by ABC, CBS, and NBC of the 1984 Democratic Convention were recorded on video tape as they were aired. All

broadcasts were reviewed and the live interviews were examined to determine the race of the network newsperson who conducted the interview and the news source of the interview. The entire population of live interviews broadcast during the convention by the three networks was examined and included in this study.

For data recording purposes, a live interview was tallied each time a news source appeared live with a network newsperson in an interview format. If two persons were interviewed jointly by a newsperson, each newsperson-source exchange was considered a separate live interview. This worked well in identifying interviews. Interviews that were taped, even if they were live-on-tape, or partially live and partially on tape were not counted as live interviews.

Only white-black designations were used to classify sources because it was believed it would require too many other assumptions to be made to classify sources into other ethnic categories. "Blacks" were categorized as persons of African descent. The "Whites" category included Caucasians, but also non-black minorities, such as American Indians, Hispanics, and Orientals.

Once the categories were established and the population defined as including all live interviews aired by each network, a single coder assigned the news sources to either the Black or White category. No reliability coding was performed because the classification into either of the categories was purely a demonstration of perceptual discrimination, not a judgment on a more subjective level. Similar coding decisions since the 1940s have not required reliability coding.[15]

At the same time news sources in interviews were being classified as black or white, newspersons were classified as black or white. Black-white totals for news sources by network by night of broadcast were compiled; similar totals were compiled for network newspersons. The results were tallied and the frequency table was subjected to a Chi Square significance test.

RESULTS

The results of the analysis of the broadcasts aired by ABC, CBS, and NBC during the 1984 Democratic Convention are presented to identify blacks who appeared on each network as news sources of live interviews; to identify blacks by name and source who participated in live interviews as news persons; and to make overall comparisons of network patterns of selection for live interviews.

Although blacks made up 18 percent of all Democratic convention delegates, on average the three major networks selected blacks as sources in about one-fourth of their live interviews (see Table 1).

ABC

As had been the case in 1976, ABC newsman Sam Donaldson conducted more live interviews for his network than any other newsperson during the 1984 Democratic Convention. Donaldson's interviews included black La. delegate Paul Valteau, civil sheriff of Orleans Parish, whom Donaldson did not identify by name or position on camera, and black La. delegate Sylvia Armstrong (see Table 2).

Lynn Sherr, the network's only female news reporter to

Table 1

Percentage of Black Delegates at 1984 Democratic Convention and Percentage of Interviews Conducted With Blacks, By Network

	Black	All
Delegates	18.0	100.0
Interview Sources		
ABC	25.6	100.0
CBS	26.3	100.0
NBC	23.0	100.0

Note: There were 710 black delegates of 3,944 delegates to the convention.

interview any sources live at the convention, conducted seven interviews with seven different sources. Her lone black source was Virgin Islands delegate Toya Andrews.

Newsman James Wooten conducted eight interviews, each with a different source. They included five elected officials, two delegates, and one staff member. Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and Rep. Mickey Leland of Texas, both blacks, were among Wooten's sources.

Richard Threlkeld, who had worked the convention as a reporter for CBS in 1976, conducted five live interviews, including two with black sources, Birmingham, Ala., Mayor Richard Arrington and Jackson whip, Dr. Elevonia Allison, from Chapel, N.C. Sander Vanocur, a former NBC floor reporter during the 1968 convention, interviewed three whites for ABC in 1984.

David Brinkley and Peter Jennings, the co-anchors for ABC, conducted a remote live interview via big-screen tv with vice presidential nominee-to-be Geraldine Ferraro on Wednesday, the third night of convention broadcasts. Each was credited with having conducted an interview. Ferraro was listed as having participated in two separate live interviews.

ABC's Ken Walker, who had been following the Jesse Jackson campaign prior to the convention, conducted two live interviews during the convention, one with Jackson, the second with Jackson campaign manager Arnold Pinkney. Walker was the only black newsman to appear on camera for ABC during live interviews from the convention. Steve Shepard conducted one live interview, that one with Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley.

One ABC interview with presidential candidate Jesse Jackson

Table 2

Number of Live Interviews Conducted by Each Network News Person at the 1984 Democratic Convention: By Race and Sex of Source

News Person	Frequency of Interviews				
	Whites		Blacks		Totals
	Male	Female	Male	Female	
ABC					
Sam Donaldson	10	2	1	1	14
James Wooten	5	1	2	0	8
Lynn Sherr	3	3	0	1	7
Richard Threlkeld	3	0	1	1	5
Sander Vanocur	3	0	0	0	3
David Brinkley	0	1	0	0	1
Peter Jennings	0	1	0	0	1
Ken Walker	0	0	2	0	2
Steve Shepard	0	0	1	0	1
Joint Network Interview	0	0	1	0	1
Totals	24	8	8	3	43

Table 2 (continued)

CBS					
Diane Sawyer	10	3	1	3	17
Leslie Stahl	8	5	2	1	16
Ed Bradley	5	2	4	0	11
Bob Schieffer	5	0	1	0	6
Dan Rather	2	1	0	0	3
Eric Enberg	1	0	0	0	1
Susan Spencer	0	1	0	0	1
Totals	31	12	8	4	55
NBC					
Chris Wallace	11	4	2	0	17
Ken Bodie	10	2	3	1	16
Connie Chung	6	2	4	3	15
Don Oliver	9	2	3	1	15
Tom Brokaw	0	1	2	1	4
Roger Mudd	4	0	0	0	4
Jamie Gangel	0	0	1	0	1
Steve Delaney	1	0	1	0	2
Totals	41	11	16	6	74
Network Totals	96	31	32	13	172

heard on more than one network did not include comments from a newsperson. ABC anchormen did not identify an ABC newsman, either before or after the interview. Questions by newsmen from other networks were heard on ABC during that interview.

CBS

Networks have been limited by party officials for a number of conventions to four floor passes for reporter-cameramen teams, although other reporters work around the hall and one is allowed per network on the podium. In 1984 CBS was the only major network to use a black newsperson in a key floor interviewer position. Ed Bradley, the lone black member of the 60 Minutes news program cast, was used as a principal floor reporter along with with Diane Sawyer, then of CBS Morning News, Leslie Stahl, and Bob Schieffer.

The use of Stahl and Sawyer by CBS was the first time any network had used two women in its key floor reporter positions. Sawyer and Stahl accounted for 60 percent of all interviews conducted by CBS during the convention; Bradley, 20 percent. Sawyer appeared in 17 interviews and interviewed 37.5 percent of all females seen on her network and 33 percent of the black news sources who appeared in live interviews.

Sawyer's only interview on the first night of the convention was with Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, a black. On Tuesday, when she conducted seven interviews, she interviewed two female black Louisiana delegates: Jessie Smallwood and Diane Bajoeis. Sawyer also conducted a follow-up interview with Smallwood in one the two interviews she conducted Thursday night.

Stahl also interviewed 37.5 percent of all females seen on CBS in her 16 interviews and interviewed three of the 12 blacks seen on CBS. Stahl conducted six of her 16 interviews on Monday night when CBS only aired a total of nine live interviews.

On Tuesday Stahl's black interview sources included Georgia delegate Walt Bellamy, a former National Basketball Association player; New York Jackson Campaign Chairman Albert Vann; and Earline Harris, who was not identified other than by name. She also interviewed two while males that night.

Bradley was CBS's only black on-air journalist involved in any live interviews during the convention. He interviewed one-third of all black sources seen on his network and appeared in a total of 11 interviews. The black news sources interviewed by Bradley included Miss. delegate Victor McTeer, a Jackson supporter, on Monday; Philadelphia, Pa., Mayor Wilson Goode and Pa. delegate Charles Bowser, on Tuesday; Chicago Mayor Harold Washington on Wednesday; and none on Thursday.

The Wednesday interview with Washington was interrupted by an interview with the mayor's political opponent, Edward Vrdolyak, a Chicago alderman, and, because of it, Bradley received a tongue lashing from Washington about journalistic ethics. With the mayor in good spirits at the beginning of the interview, Bradley discussed party unity and questioned Washington about unity problems in Chicago, specifically about the lack of communication between Washington and Vrdolyak. Bradley reminded Washington that the mayor and Vrdolyak (standing) just behind Bradley out of the cameras field of view) didn't even talk to each other in public. Bradley moved his

microphone to ask Vrdolyak why there was no interchange between the two Cook County leaders and Washington said:

"Turn that camera off me. Don't ever do that again." Washington then sat down with his back to the camera.

Washington: "(inaudible)...the press which has no respect for people at all. You think you can intrude upon people just to get a few lines in the press; that is totally and completely bad. And I'm stunned that a man of your caliber..."

Bradley attempts to interrupt: "Mr. Mayor."

Washington: "...and moral ethical standard"

Bradley again attempts to interrupt: "Mr. Mayor."

Washington: "...would stoop to such a thing. Don't ask me anything else. You are one of the lowest possible individuals I've ever seen. How dare you call yourself a pressman!"

Bradley: "Well, Mr. Mayor, I work with my colleagues."

Washington: "You are an insult to common sense."

Bradley: "I work with my colleagues. Dan (Rather)..."

The fourth CBS floor reporter, Bob Schieffer, conducted only six interviews, one on Monday with a black male identified only as a South Carolina delegate. News anchor Dan Rather conducted three live interviews from the anchor booth, either by remote television or when a news source was invited to appear in the booth, all with white sources. Reporters Eric Engberg and Susan Spencer, the only other two reporters seen on CBS in live interviews, each participated in one live interview. Each was with a white source.

NBC

Chris Wallace was the most prolific interviewer for NBC in 1984, but his total of 17 interviews was a mere fraction of the network-high 71 interviews conducted during the 1972 convention by Tom Pettit.[16]

As had been the case in 1972, NBC's four principal floor reporters in 1984 conducted about equal numbers of live interviews. Wallace's 17 interviews were only one more than Ken Bodie's 16 and only two more than Connie Chung's and Don Oliver's 15 interviews each. Three other NBC reporters conducted a total of seven live interviews and anchor Tom Brokaw conducted four from his booth for a network total of 74, a figure higher than totals for either CBS or ABC in 1984.

Wallace conducted four interviews on Monday night, but did not interview a black until Tuesday when he questioned Tyronne Brooks and the Rev. Hosea Williams, both Georgia delegates. On Tuesday, Wallace conducted a total of five interviews. Wallace's six interviews on Wednesday and two on Thursday were all with whites. In all, Wallace interviewed 11 white males, two black males, and four white females, the later accounting for 36 percent of his network's total (four of 11) of interviews with white females. He did not interview black females.

Bodie interviewed four blacks in his 16 interviews. The black news sources were: Chicago Mayor Harold Washington on Monday; and, on Tuesday, Louisiana delegate Paul Valteau, the Civil Sheriff of New Orleans; National Association of Educators President Mary Futrell; and the Rev. James Hall, Jesse Jackson's minister in South Carolina when Jackson was a teen-ager. Bodie

conducted no interviews with blacks on Wednesday or Thursday. Bodie's 16 interviews were with 10 white males, two white females, three black males, and one black female.

Don Oliver interviewed 15 sources, including three black males and one black female. His interviews with blacks included: on Monday, Texas Cong. Mickey Leland; on Tuesday, New York delegate Hazel Dukes; on Wednesday, Louisiana delegate Sherman Copeland and Cong. Harold Ford of Tennessee.

Connie Chung, a key floor reporter, and Jamie Gangel were the only female reporters involved in NBC's live interview coverage during the 1984 convention. Gangel conducted one brief interview Tuesday night with Jackson Campaign Manager Arnold Pinkney. Chung's 15 floor interviews accounted for 25 percent of NBC's live interviews with black males and 50 percent of that network's interviews with black females. In all, Chung's 15 interviews were with six white males, two white females, four black males, and three black females.

On Monday Chung interviewed Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young; on Tuesday, New York Jackson Campaign Manager Albert Vann and Corretta Scott King, widow of Dr. Martin Luther King; on Wednesday, Chicago Mayor Harold Washington, Florida delegate Willa Carson, and Jackson Campaign Manager Arnold Pinkney.

Anchor Tom Brokaw conducted four live interviews during the convention, either in the anchor booth or via a remote big-screen television hookup. Immediately following presidential candidate Jesse Jackson's address to the convention Tuesday Brokaw interviewed Jackson in the anchor booth. Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley joined Brokaw in the booth for a live interview,

following Bradley's speech Wednesday nominating Walter Mondale for president.

In what was surely the most spontaneous interview of the convention, Brokaw, while talking from the anchor booth to reporter Don Oliver on the convention floor Wednesday, spotted a black woman in the background and asked Oliver to talk to her. Brokaw said he had talked to the woman earlier in the week off-camera and remembered she was a Louisiana delegate and her name and occupation: Debbie Morrison, school teacher. From the booth Brokaw also interviewed vice presidential nominee-designate Geraldine Ferraro on Wednesday via remote camera.

Veteran news reporter Roger Mudd, who had served as a key floor reporter for CBS in prior conventions, acted as NBC's podium reporter in 1984. Physically restricted to the podium itself, Mudd's primary job was to present summary reports about platform issues but, during the convention, he did conduct four live interviews with four white males.

Newsman Steve Delaney, stationed outside the floor area, interviewed only two sources during the convention, one of them Ga. state Sen. Julian Bond, a black. NBC newspersons individually did not re-interview any of their sources during convention coverage in 1984, although some sources were seen in more than one live NBC interview.

Of the 74 live interviews aired on NBC during the convention, 30 were conducted with elected officials, either federal, state or local, 15 interviews with campaign staff members, and 14 with rank-and-file delegates. Only one interview was conducted with vice presidential candidate Ferraro, only two

each with presidential candidates Jackson and Glenn, and only one with a family member, Joan Mondale.

Overall

In 1984, when 18 percent of the convention's 3,944 delegates were black,[17] black males accounted for 18.6 of ABC's interviews, 19.7 percent of CBS interviews and 14.9 percent of all NBC live interviews. Black females accounted for 7.0 percent of the interviews on ABC, 6.6 percent on CBS and 8.1 percent on NBC (see Table 1).

Adding the percentages of black males and females together who participated in live interviews reveals blacks were interviewed more often than their representative delegate strength in 1984. The 1984 ABC total of blacks interviewed live was 25.6 percent of all interview sources. On CBS it was 19.7 percent and on NBC, 29.7 percent.

Although the number of blacks interviewed live in 1984 was higher than 1972,[18] much of that gain was confined to assessing reaction and discussing pride of blacks to the address on the convention's second night by black presidential candidate Jesse Jackson. If Tuesday night's interviews for blacks and whites were discounted the "three-night" convention for Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday live interviews, by source, black vs. white, showed ABC conducted 17.6 percent of its interviews with blacks on those nights, CBS only 10.0 percent, and NBC 20.4 percent, percentages that were, for each network, more in line with overall black participation during the 1972 convention.

On the second night of the convention, Tuesday, when

Jackson spoke, 24 of 46 live interviews (52.2 percent) conducted by all three networks were with blacks. But on the other three nights of the convention week, blacks sources in 21 of 126 live interviews (16.7 percent). ABC conducted one-third of its interviews with black females and one-half of its black male source interviews on Tuesday before and after Jackson's address. CBS conducted all of its interviews with black females on Tuesday and 62.5 percent of its interviews with all its male black sources on Tuesday, and NBC conducted one-half of its interviews with all blacks on Tuesday night.

Blacks actually were the majority of Tuesday night's interview sources in 1984. Two of CBS's six interviews conducted from sign-on Tuesday until Jackson began his speech were with blacks; three of eight total interviews after his speech Tuesday night were with blacks. Eleven of NBC's 20 interviews conducted Tuesday evening were with blacks, including six black source interviews to three white source interviews from Tuesday sign-on to the speech's beginning. ABC conducted five of its nine Tuesday interviews with black sources.
sources because it was believed it would require too many .ig other assumptions to be made to classify sources into other .ig ethnic categories.

The ratios of black news sources to white news sources were quite inconsistent between nights of the convention as well. On Monday 3.5 whites were interviewed for each black source; Tuesday it 1:1; Wednesday 1:5; and Thursday 1:9; for an overall average of 1:3. The difference between numbers of interviews conducted

on CBS on Tuesday and Wednesday nights was greatest. On Tuesday CBS interviewed nine white and eight black sources, but on Wednesday, black sources accounted for only 1 of 23 live interview sources. On all three networks on Tuesday night blacks were the sources in 24 of 46 live interviews (52.2 percent). On Thursday night they were sources in two of 20 interviews (10 percent; see Table 3).

Hypothesis Testing

Frequencies of appearance in live interviews on all three networks by blacks and whites were assembled in a 2 x 4 grid according to the night of the convention each interview was broadcast. A Chi Square analysis indicated a significant difference in the distribution at the .001 level (X^2 = 22.886; 1 d.f.) due to much higher numbers of black sources who appeared on the convention's second night, Tuesday (see Table 3). Because one cell value in that grid was smaller than five, the grid was collapsed into a 2 x 2 distribution in which Tuesday night's black and white live interview totals by race were compared to the totals of the other three nights. The Chi Square value for that distribution was 20.193, also significant at the .001 level (1 d.f.). The statistical implication is that the networks acted significantly differently in selecting sources, by race, on the night when Jackson spoke, than on the other three nights of the convention.

Only nine news sources were interviewed at least once on each network during the 1984 broadcasts. The lone black source in the

Table 3

Frequency Table of ABC, CBS, and NBC Live Interview Source Seen During 1984 Democratic Convention Broadcasts (Day/column Percentages in Parentheses)

	Day of Convention Week				
Source	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thur.	Totals
Blacks	6	24	13	2	45
	(22.2)	(52.2)	(16.5)	(10.0)	(26.2)
Whites	21	22	66	18	127
	(77.8)	(47.8)	(83.5)	(90.0)	(73.8)
Day Totals	27	46	79	20	172
Day Pct. Totals	(100)	(100)	(100)	(100)	

$X^2 = 22.886$; 3 d.f. in 2 x 4 grid; $p<.001$***

(with one cell value below 5)

Note: A collapsed grid of Tuesday vs. the other three days of the convention week created a 2x2 grid with Black totals of 24 and White totals of 22 on Tuesday and Blacks, 21, and Whites, 105, on other days of the week. For that grid, $X^2 = 20.193$, 1 d.f.; $p<.001$.

group was Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. Of all candidates for president and vice president only vice presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro was interviewed by all networks. The others interviewed on all three networks included Ohio Gov. Richard Celeste, Ga. Gov. Joe Frank Harris, Hart Campaign Manager Olvier Henkel, presidential candidate wife Joan Mondale, House Speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill Jr., and two Louisiana delegates, Quentin Dastugue and Terry Reeves.

Source Status

According to an eleven-point classification scale developed for use in examing political convention live interviews,[19] news sources were classified according to their identification during the interviews as either rank-and-file delegates, non-federal elected officials, federal elected officials (members of Congress), presidential candidates, vice presidential candidates, candidate family members, campaign staff leaders, Democratic Convention officials, advocates of a specific cause or labor leaders.

In virtually all categories, white sources far outnumbered blacks as sources of interviews (see Table 4). There was no black representation on any network in the following categories: vice presidential candidate, candidate family member, convention official, or labor leader.

Blacks were best represented in NBC interviews involving rank-and-file delegates: half of its interviews with delegates were with blacks. CBS's delegate interviews were with 35 percent

Table 4

Frequency of Appearance of News Sources in Live Interviews During 1984 Democratic Convention, by Status and Race of News Sources

	ABC		CBS		NBC	
	White	Black	White	Black	White	Black
Rank-and-File Delegate	10	4	13	7	7	7
Elected Official (Non-federal)	8	3	8	3	11	5
Federal Elected Official	5	1	8	0	10	3
Presidential Candidate	0	2	1	0	1	1
Vice Pres. Candidate	2	0	2	0	1	0
Candidate Family Member	1	0	6	0	1	0
Campaign Staff Leader	3	1	2	1	11	4
Convention Official	2	0	0	0	3	0
Advocate	1	0	0	0	4	2

Table 3 (continued)

Labor Leader	0	0	1	0	3	0
Other	0	0	2	1	0	0
Sub Totals	32	11	43	12	52	22
Network Totals	43		55		74	

black delegates, ABC's about 30 percent. The most likely black source to be interviewed on network television was a rank-and-file delegate, a reflection of the reality blacks do not enjoy a power base anywhere near equal the base whites enjoy. Only four of 27 interviews (about 15 percent) with members of Congress were with black sources, another reflection of the lack of official position in the black community.

Blacks did somewhat better in the non-federal officials category, 11 of 38 (about 30 percent), chiefly because of the presence of black mayors at the convention -- Goode, Bradley, Washington, and Young.

Jesse Jackson was actually interviewed more often (twice on ABC, once on NBC) than white candidates, but that was likely due to the fact tht frontrunner Walter Mondale refused to give interviews prior to his nomination and the race for the nomination was over before the convention began. Mondale announced Geraldine Ferraro as his choice for vice presidential nominee on the Friday before the Monday the convention opened. Ferraro was interviewed five times during the conventions; no other vp candidates were interviewed.

Black Reporters

Only two reporters who participated in the 172 live interviews broadcast by ABC, CBS, and NBC during the 1984 Democratic convention were black. ABC's Ken Walker conducted two interviews and CBS's Ed Bradley conducted 11 interviews. No black reporters participated in the 74 live interviews broadcast

by NBC. Both of Walker's sources were black males. Bradley interviewed five whites males, two black females, and six black males. (See Table 5.)

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The percentage of black participation in live interviews conducted by ABC, CBS, and NBC during the 1984 Democratic Convention was greater than in the 1972 broadcasts, but was extremely uneven during the convention week.

Although blacks had been formally nominated in earlier conventions,[20] the significant increase in participation by blacks in live network television interviews at the 1984 convention over the 1972 convention must be attributed to the full-term candidacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson, a candidacy that culminated in his being asked to address the 1984 delegates on the second night of the convention and having his name placed in nomination during Wednesday night balloting. Jackson was certainly the first black to run a strong campaign -- one accepted by white America as strong -- for the presidential nomination of a major party. On Tuesday 52.2 percent of all live network interviews featured blacks as news sources but the average for the other three nights for black participation was only 16.7 percent. Eighteen percent of the convention's delegates were black. Statistically, the networks acted differently on Tuesday night in selecting sources, by race, for live interviews than the other three nights of the 1984 convention.

Table 5

Number of Live Interviews Conducted by Black News Persons at the 1984 Democratic Convention, By Race and Sex of News Source

		Number				
		Whites		Blacks		
Network	News Person	M	F	M	F	Total
ABC	Ken Walker	0	0	2	0	2
CBS	Ed Bradley	5	2	4	0	11
NBC	None	0	0	0	0	0
Sub-total for both black reporters		5	2	6	0	13
Network Totals, all reporters		96	31	32	13	172
Black reporters' percentage of total		5.2	6.5	18.8	0	7.6

ABC

ABC conducted five of its nine live interviews on Tuesday night with black sources, but only 11 overall with blacks during the entire convention. Two of the 11 sources were members of candidate Jackson's campaign staff, three were rank-and-file delegates, two were with Jackson himself, and four were with elected officials. All white sources on NBC were interviewed by white newspersons. Black ABC news reporter Ken Walker only conducted two interviews, both with black males. His interviews accounted for nine percent of the network's interviews with black sources.

CBS

White CBS reporters interviewed 67 percent of the network's black live interview sources. The network's only black reporter, Ed Bradley, interviewed only 15 percent of the white sources seen on CBS. He interviewed seven white sources and four black sources in his 11 interviews.

More often than not black sources were rank-and-file delegates and appeared during Tuesday's broadcast. On Tuesday when Jesse Jackson addressed the convention, CBS interviewed eight blacks. Five of them were rank-and-file delegates.

In contrast, of the nine white sources appearing in CBS Tuesday night live interviews, only one was identified as a rank-and-file delegate; another was not identified by Sawyer other than by name. The other seven white sources were either office holders, candidate family members, campaign staff members, or presidential candidates.

CBS's interviewing pattern, as to selection of either black or white sources, differed Tuesday night from the other three nights of the convention. On Monday, CBS aired interviews involving two blacks and seven whites. On Wednesday, one black was interviewed out of 22 sources. And on Thursday, one black was interviewed in seven interviews. But Tuesday, eight blacks were interviewed in 17 live interviews. Two-thirds of all blacks seen anytime in live interviews during the convention on CBS appeared on Tuesday night.

NBC

Blacks appeared in 11 of the 20 live interviews (55 percent) aired on NBC during the Tuesday night session, but appeared in none of the nine live interviews aired Thursday. Half of all blacks seen in live interviews on NBC appeared Tuesday night. Six of the 22 blacks seen in live interviews during the NBC convention broadcasts were rank-and-file delegates and 10 were elected officials. Four were campaign staff members, one was a presidential candidate, and another an advocate. Because there were no black newspersons participating in ABC's live interviews, all blacks seen on ABC in live interviews were interviewed by white newspersons.

Overall

Although blacks were interviewed more than than their relative strength as delegates at the convention, those who were selected as interview sources were likely to be rank-and-file delegates. The shortage of blacks as members of Congress and as

high-ranking staff members of white candidates' campaigns was reflected in their low participation in these interview source categories (15 percent). Only a handful of big-city mayors from Chicago, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and Birmingham, Ala., kept blacks from being shut out of interviews conducted with local and state office holders.

Although only small numbers of labor officials and leaders Democratic Convention officials, and family members of presidential and vice presidential candidates were interviewed, none was black.

In general, although blacks were interviewed more often than their numerical delegate strength at the convention, the black source most likely to be seen by viewers was not a presidential candidate, labor leader, congressman or campaign director, but, rather, a rank-and-file delegate.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Anju G. Chaudhary, "Press Portrayal of Black Officials," Journalism Quarterly, 57:636-641 (Winter 1980); Richard L. Allen and William T. Bielby, "Blacks' Relationship With the Print Media," Journalism Quarterly, 56:488-496, 545, (Autumn 1979).

[2] Churchill Roberts, "The Portrayal of Blacks in Network Television," Journal of Broadcasting, 15:45-53 (Winter 1970-71); John F. Seggar, "Television's Portrayal of Minorities and Women, 1971-1975", Journal of Broadcasting, 21:435-446, (Fall 1977); Bradley S. Greenberg, Kimberly Neuendorf, Nancy Berkel-Rothfuss, and Laura Henderson, "The Soaps: What's on and Who Cares?", Journal of Broadcasting, 26:519-535 (Spring 1982).

[3] Joseph R. Dominick and Bradley S. Greenberg, "Three Seasons of Blacks on Television," Journal of Advertising Research, 10:21-27 (April 1970).

[4] Churchill Roberts, "The Presentation of Blacks in Television Network Newscasts," Journalism Quarterly, 52:50-55, Spring 1975.

[5] Roberts, op. cit.

[6] Roberts, op. cit.

[7] Roberts, op. cit.

[8] Herbert C. Northcott, John F. Seggar, and James L. Hinton, "Trends in TV Portrayal of Blacks and Women," Journalism Quarterly, 52:741-44 (Winter 1975).

[9] Northcott et al, op. cit.

[10] Elizabeth Johnson, "Credibility of Black and White Newscasters to a Black Audience," Journal of Broadcasting, 28:365-368 (Summer 1984).

[11] Gordon L. Gray, "Television and the National Nominating Conventions of 1952. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, 1957, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; Charles H. Fant, "Televising Presidential Conventions, 1952-1980," Journal of Communication, 30:130-139 (Autumn 1980); David Womack and Jere R. Hoar, "Treatment of Candidates in Convention Floor Interviews," Journalism Quarterly, 58:300-302 (Summer 1981).

[12] David L. Paletz and Martha Elson, "Television Coverage of Presidential Conventions: Now You See It, Now You Don't," Political Science Quarterly, 91:109-131 (Spring 1976).

[13] Paletz and Elson, op. cit.

[14] Joe Foote and Tony Rimmer, "The Ritual of Convention Coverage in 1980," in W.C. Adams (ed.) Televison Coverage of the 1980 Presidential Campaign. Media Coverage of Public Affairs. Vol. 3., 1983 (pp. 69-88). Norwood, N.J.: Abex Publishing Co.

15 Irving L. Janis, Raymond H. Fadner, and Morris Jankowitz, "The Reliability of a Content Analysis Technique," Public Opinion Quarterly, 7:293 (Summer 1943).

16 Blacks were sources of 50 of 551 (9.09 percent) live interviews aired on the three networks in 1972 and 45 of 172 live interviews (26.9 percent) aired in 1984; David Womack, "ABC, CBS, and NBC Live Television Interviews Conducted During the 1972 Democratic National Convention: An Audio Content-Analysis," (Unpublished master's thesis, University of Mississippi, 1974).

17 Democratic National Committee, October 31, 1984, letter.

18 Womack, op. cit., In 1972 blacks were sources in 12.3 percent of all live interviews televised on ABC; 5.4 percent on CBS and 10.5 percent on NBC.

19 Womack. "Status of News Sources Interviewed During Pesidential Conventions," Journalism Quarterly, 63:331-336 (Summer 1986).

20 In 1968 then Georgia state legislator Julian Bond was nominated for vice president although he was not legally old enough to run for the office. In 1972, former Cong. Shirley Chisholm was nominated for president and, in 1976, Calif. Rep. Ron Dellums for vice president.